514
515 leads to the belief that the terms employed to designate them, so
576 easily interchangeable, refer to more general forms of behavior.

515 To blow the nose, one takes in both hands a twig or a stalk of dry grass, folds it in two, and pinches the nose in this improvised nut-cracker while blowing strongly. The mucus is collected by pinching the instrument together under the nose, and the whole thing is thrown away after having been plunged into the sand to dry it.

514 The men urinate standing or while walking. The women crouch, leaning slightly forward and sprinkle themselves with sand to dry themselves. The children act like the adults of their sex, except that the little girls often urinate standing up with their legs separated. The men defecate alone in the bush neighboring the camp, the women do the same, or go in a group. On such occasions one perceives the reality of the group formed by the girls and the secondary wives of polygamous marriages. Thus, a3, a4, a5, a8, a19, and a20 are accustomed to isolate themselves by twos, threes or fours. Elimination is done in a crouched position, in a hole summarily dug in the sand with the hands, or directly on the ground. A small branch is used to clean oneself, and sand, for drying.

841 The women are forced into isolation only at the time of their [63] first menstruation.(1). Following this, they are only subject to

1. Cf. below, p. 109.

certain alimentary and sexual prohibitions:

6. jayoodage edede edede edede kano kano kano kano kano kanaho huiire tamindige. (b1).
The woman has her menses every two moons (?), then she waits one day, one day, one day, one day, the next day she can eat, copulate.

The taboo on eating for five days is not rigorous, and usually concerns certain types of food. Besides this, a woman cannot bathe during her menses, as is, of course, the general rule for the two sexes during this period. One goes to the river to put water in a gourd and pours it over the body while crouching. Otherwise, the woman takes care of all her habitual occupations. No precaution is taken against
841 the flow of blood, and as no trace of it is noted, it must be supposed
147 that it is greatly reduced (2).

841
147
171 2. Among the Bororo, on the contrary, it is easily seen which women are indisposed. But the above remarks seem to be indicative of a fairly general state of affairs

841 147 ● 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not--as it is also grammatically possible--"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [20] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayétte, tayétte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated utíhedjutu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamíndige, tuyírare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahuínosu (nosu = man, al), tamínde, yáire. On the other hand, in the northern

834 nights" kanaro?etẽndige (b1); inversely, nights without moon are
642 particularly approved, as well as rainy periods. In 1938 the rains
834 were late, and the first shower came in September after six months of
[833] total drought. The event, so long awaited, was immediately celebrated by B1, who did not even wait for night to have sexual relations with his youngest wife b2. However, day-time relations are rare, and the act was carried out more ostensibly than usual, behind the thin palms of a shelter. Immediately afterwards B1 supplied a spontaneous commentary on meteorological prohibitions. Sexual relations are also, at least theoretically, forbidden between husband and wife
[856] [65] from the birth of the child to the time when he can walk. This event is hurried along by rubbing his legs with the juice of a non-identified plant (touri?iti, c) "so that he will walk quickly, so that another can be made" (1); but, by "another," is understood, un-

●[71] 1. The same custom existed among the ancient Tupi. Cf. Cardim, Tratado da terra et da gente do Brasil, new ed., Rio-de-Janeiro, 1925, p. 170.

doubtedly sexual intercourse rather than their result, rarely welcome:
[847] the Nambikwara women often have recourse to abortion, and they are familiar with a great number of plants and roots for that use. We were not able to obtain a specimen.

831 The attitude of the Nambikwara toward things pertaining to
832 love can be summed up in their formula tamĩndige mõndage, translated literally, if not elegantly: "To make love is good." We have already mentioned the erotic atmosphere which fills daily life. Love affairs hold the interest and curiosity of the Indians to the highest degree. They are eager for conversation on these subjects, and the remarks exchanged in the camp are filled with allusions and hidden
[833] meanings. However, sexual relations are rare, and the prohibitions which limit them explain this state of affairs only partially. The thing truly responsible seems rather to be indigenous temperament.
[147] In the course of the amorous games to which couples give themselves over so willingly and so publicly, and which are often very far advanced, we have never been able to note the beginning of an erection. The pleasure looked for seems to be less of the physical order
833 than playful and sentimental. Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush. This departure is noted immediately, and gives rise to the most

N
601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this
N preponderance of men which we have called attention to as
[648] regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

* * * *

000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological
N character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature
T relating to South America.
601
171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one culture, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

NT 601 171 the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word eté (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemonhangara, my father 'who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimonhanga, my son 'whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco eté, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco eté, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupí, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

4. Cf. before, p .[sic]

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupí, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

TN [842] found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

1: Lévi-Strauss--93 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SD9

receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

TN 601 171 582 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

TN 595 171 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

TN 607 171 All of these observations authorise us to trace a parallel between the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

1: Lévi-Strauss--95 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba 509

T
607 customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or
171 godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil, Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

T The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is
592

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a
N theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.
T [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship
607 between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi.
171 All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists
N among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that
[83] among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

1: Lévi-Strauss--96 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Tupinamba SD9

while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships, which make up for the absence of an available sister.

We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or jópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetonasap (Yves d'Evreux) or cotonasap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

1: Levi-Strauss--97 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17.

171
601

two types of solidarity, the one, mechanical and expressed by the term brother, and the other, organic, expressed by the term brother-in-law. We have alluded to this above, p. 71.

114
601

One might object that the old authors might have interpreted doubtful observations in the light of European facts. As we shall propose [84] the name of compérage to designate an institution which we believe to be authentically Indian, it will be useful to stop for a moment at this aspect of the problem.

Without doubt the facts analyzed above, and the European institution of compérage [compaternity]offer striking analogies. At the beginning, the godfather and the godmother were connected with one another, and both of them to the parents of the child, by the mystic bonds of sponsorship. But the relationship soon became secularized in all the small rural communities, or, more exactly, everywhere where the family grouping takes precedence over the extended social group. The relationship is then employed to establish an artificial kinship line, or even, as happens among the Nambikwara to translate in kinship terms a simple phenomenon of spatial contiguity. (1) The strangers, the newcomers, are adopted

1. This derivation is well brought to light by etymology: in English, god-sib becomes gossip.

thanks to the reciprocal usage of the appellations of godfather and godmother which they receive from—and return to—their contemporaries. On the other hand, the stranger usually assimilates himself by taking a wife in his new community, and the terms godfather and brother-in-law become synonyms so rapidly that the men allied by marriage only call one another by the first. In the villages of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the godfather or "compadre" is an actual or potential brother-in-law. That in certain regions of Central or South America the analogy between the Indian and European institutions has aided the first to establish and modernize itself is not doubtful. Thus, in Mexico, the primitive institution of the mozte, that is, obligation, for the heads of families to exchange presents periodically now functions in the framework of the relations of "compadres," the Spanish term offering a convenient translation of the ancient Otomi. (2)

2. Jacques Soustelle, La famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique central, Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie, 1937.

But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary, the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a European model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship between godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened. But we have a much decisive argument. From the arrival of the first missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restrictions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relationship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism) regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou, meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means "my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter"... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, l. c., II, 1, p. 234.

We believe we have assembled enough information concerning the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been published under the title: "The social use of kinship

THEORY OF DEATH

761 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women
775 and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. dend dũrige getnatũrina ednadʒre lukuĩndige ndakuĩndige monũnkiadukuĩndige dend dũrige monũre lĩrige amonotiĩrige tonodũrige nitendige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the hacaĩuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent.
[224 On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its re-
28] mains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur
714 bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuĩndige inkara uĩrige lotatũrige ikuitendige uĩrige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atãtu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atãtu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776
●171 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

T16
971

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani,". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atãsu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atãsu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atãsu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inããru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruhu (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoarohu (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM.

787

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to [263] receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the oldest) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iãĩdãdni dẽnõ tamũmatatjani nahoe ejãni ekuẽjeni kanahãdau uatli aikuaauatlĩkentete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

injection of pao preto (ikatu n'seram, a1), put in the eye with the aid of a funnel of leaves from whose lower extremity the liquid falls drop by drop. But other maladies, considered the result of poisoning (or of a charm; in both cases: nãnde) are exclusively within the domain of the sorcerer. He makes the "arrows of thunder" (ndaõrede, b1) in all points similar to those used for hunting except that their dimensions are much more restricted. The treatment consists of three operations: throwing the arrows around the sick person to carry away the spirits; sucking the body to force out the cause of the illness; this cause is thrown far away when it has been captured:

43. ãdige underãdige kadirjenka ungeraige tenundige (b1)
throw, throw far away the little thorns sucked with the mouth, throw away [the evil]. (1)

1. The informant made it known that by "little thorns" he meant to designate the "arrows of thunder" which are only several centimeters in length. One notes the same assimilation in other regions of South America. Thus, the informant of Karsten in the Chaco (R. Karsten, "Indian tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco," Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum, IV, 1, p. 132-133) cites as the cause of the malady and the way of combatting it, an "arrow" or "splinter").

[103] Afterwards the sick person is usually cured and can take up his work again:

44. enendige deendige enena dejdnige (b1)
To be sick is finished [one can] continue.

However, the sorcerer can establish much closer relationships with the supernatural powers. During our stay in his group, C20 disappeared, or more exactly did not return to camp at the usual hour. The other men, having gone hunting, had not seen him the whole day. Night fell and toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, the most profound consternation reigned in the camp and particularly around the fire of the man who had disappeared, whose two wives and child held themselves embraced while mourning in advance the death of their husband and father. At this moment we decided to look around, accompanied by a few Indians. We had only to walk 200 meters to discover C20, crouched on the ground and shivering in the darkness. He was completely naked, that is, divested of his

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodunũere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiriere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjõtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjõtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied.(1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: "... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
836 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara.

THE COLORS

822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

[193 197 117]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Śiḅṣa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) uñi ʔaniena tañkedniena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 182

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahẽndesu	ahẽndesu	delẽnde	pãte
Black	ũndne	atuũdisu	ụãre, dẽdẽne	tapũte

continued

773
539

nãgatatnjãani ukuñaonetatjena ukuajenthni
who do not know how to understand others who live so distant
[that it is necessary]
kanengore kanengore kanengore
that a moon end that a moon end that a moon end
natlitnjãni (b1)
in order that they arrive.

The whole story can be summed up as follows: alone of all the 773
humans, one old woman succeeded in escaping the Flood by hanging to the top of a buriti palm. By letting some nuts fall from the palm into the water, she was able to measure the decline of the water, and when the ground was dry, she came down and was delivered of a son. Through an incestuous union with her son, she then gave birth to twins of different sex, and from their incestuous union was born a new generation of twins. Thus, the whole of humanity would be descended from a series of marriages between twins, each giving birth to a new couple. As men multiplied, new villages were founded, always further away. So much so that today men live at such distances from one another that they do not speak the same language, do not understand one another, and must travel for whole months in order to visit.

This version offers several points in common with others collected in distant regions of South America. It is doubtless necessary to interpret the throwing of the palm nuts in the light of the "magical projection" 773
which has been studied above. (1) The throwing of small nuts certainly 171

1. Cf. p. 96.

possesses a magic significance. The same episode is found in several versions of the legend of the Flood, (2) and its magical value is formally attested

2. Cf. for example the Tupi version collected by Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 45.

for the Ŝipaia by Nimuendaju. (3) In older versions, the old woman (since

3. To kill the sun by throwing upon it small nuts of the palm tree anaja, thus introducing night upon the earth ("Sagen der Tembe Indianern," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, 1915, p. 296).

In older versions, the old woman (since the old women share the magic powers of the men among the Nambikwara as also in other tribes) (4) was undoubtedly not content with measuring the

4. Cf. above, p. 101.

fall of water by the duration of the fall of her nuts, she actually provoked it by throwing them. Whatever the case may be, "magical projection" is probably found at the origin of the theme of the throwing of small fruits or grains in South American folklore.

[122] PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The Nambikwara offer the observer a very special psychological and moral aspect, and one which we have not found again either among their immediate neighbors--Paressi, tribes of Guaporé, and Tupi of the Gi-Parana--or among other South American tribes. It is worth an attempt to separate its principal characteristics. Few of the primitive South Americans display so much spontaneity and freedom in their behavior. Few manifest such ease in psychological relationships, and such grace of expression. Thus, in their relationships with the ethnologist, the informants introduce formulae which constitute true sociological inventions in order to respond to a new situation, on the part of individuals who do not use either a formula of greeting or of leave-taking in their own social relationships:

60. tai undejretnĩ ta ejkirednĩ uɬi jiren undetnĩ tatjene uɬi iritjani. (b1)
I am going to sleep, I am going away, you go to sleep, I will stay, you go away.

Or to put an end to an interrogation of which they are weary:

61. iejtɬana amnentĩ hikonarijna iatjen amdenĩ konahdiaŋ jedetnĩ. (b1)
This is useless, it must be left; one does not see clearly any more, this is useless, let us leave it; tomorrow we will talk.

Or again:

62. nakanajõnjani nihin nalirjani. (b1)
I have forgotten, wait till I remember.

Their daily life is full of exuberance. It is not only in the games of ball that one hears joyous exclamations:

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakítisu band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakítisu and related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakítisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning
• 171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Terena and Paresí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rúdeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[101] 181 648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and ● 171 longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimanta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço 101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. #6, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units. 571 607 582

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires. 571 607

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men. 571 607 562

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast. 080

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. 114 171 601

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two: 114 171

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 171 In questions of relationship they never use the word *eie* (true) since they call their father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *zeruba zemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *zeraira zereminonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *zeremireco eie*, but simply *zeremireco* or *zeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *zemenete* "real husband," but simply *zemena* or *zemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *zeremireco eie*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daughter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

851 842

114 171 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragoaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

---

[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Seria), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[6] by Soares de Sousa,[7] Claude d'Abbeville,[8] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes:

> They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . . "[9]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[10] But among the Tupí avuncular marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, *Léry* notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[11] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[12] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

> It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[13]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[14] Vasconcellos,[15] and Soares de Sousa.[16]

---

[6] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 146.

[7] *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[8] *Histoire de las Missions. . .* (Paris, 1614).

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 299-306. The same interpretation is made by Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549–1560, Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[10] For instance, Breton gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 11.

[11] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel. (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 83.

[12] *Cosmographie Universelle*, p. 932.

[13] Pedro de Magalhaens de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brasil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 89.

[14] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[15] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 82), p. 133.

[16] *Tratado*, pp. 137, 132.

595
171

Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171
114

The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouassap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*comperage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171
607
582

One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

---

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 30, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Ladeno Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421-440; Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 189-190.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarüiy* and *itepe*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *cheiwasap* (Evreux) or *coiro-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabáne and Tarindé.[2]

[2] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not *only* to describe a familial relationship, but *is* also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the pests of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more *my* brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compérage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of *compérage*. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularized in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as is the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.[9] The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the *mollo*, that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.[10] The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of *compérage* may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

184 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

[9] The same sociological derivation is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (god-sib).

[10] Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually coexisted among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution.[8] On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

> They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cheroa*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Cheoire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Chesgire*, "my daughter." . . .[8]

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *couvade* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *couvade* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

---

[8] Yves d'Evreux, *loc. cit.*, II, I, p. 234.

164 The disease of the overos is in fact equivalent to the vaurana
177 of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease" of Colombia, the "spotted disease," lota in Central America or purupuru in the Amazon.

164 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century,
114 and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest detail.

"Purupuru," [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called Pamaouiri and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that purupuru was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of purupuru.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of purupuru. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected areas. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)
342

O Round or oval, of a temporary character.

Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Pareni. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapoera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Pomansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machiñero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Chuquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
SM. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
NC. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Pinros. Cf. Chaffanjon.

342 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

The permanent homes of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocoma village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7: Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

342
171

Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).
(Caption on p. 21.)

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 127] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[17] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

281 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikáinerá!"

411 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (hukiçú) are made of
771 ipê (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1.70 to two meters;

[424]

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is J. copaia, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (T. ochracea, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (T. ipê, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necesary power.

The bow we used measured 2.38 [sic] meters in length by 0.047 meter in its greatest width; its tucum cord [268] had a diameter of 0.002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 66 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

4/11 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brazilian.]

178 Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brazilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brazilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Araca; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

4/11 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Anîçô: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uselicô: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aleuincô: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

4/11 278 [272] Anâkirikatçô: A unique type, armed with a series of barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless... (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida notes here that he carried out an

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241 415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

278 824 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

386 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (hudubukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [279]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf

●[71] 1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Antilles and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[248 256] containers; cotton thread (kondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); the ins [255] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sarsguéné--strap used to carry children). [248] The spindle is made of a palm spinner imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415 824 Kanguí are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.

[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[288] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[85] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnis en Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[201] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

174 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

/220 cont./

278 171 [177] The Tamandé Ñambikwara, of the upper course of the Roosevelt River, assured me that curare had come to them from other Indians living farther to the north, in the region of the Gy Paraná /Gi-Paraná River/; it was not possible to make them specify what kind of Indians these were.

The Cabixiano /Cabishi?/ of the Rio Mequem, to the northeast of Ñambikwara territory, also use curare. According to a civilized Indian of this group encountered at the post of Baron de Melgaço, their product with a complex vegetable base is prepared secretly and only by a few old men; it is a hard curare in a jar. It is used for hunting, even of tapirs, and for war.

The Pareci, along with the Ñambikwara, represent the extreme southern point of the spread of curare, the use of which as one goes toward the Amazon becomes more and more frequent and its preparation surrounded with more mystery.

278 137 All the curares are not as simple as the Ñambikwara curare, but all appear to have as their principal base a species of Strychnos which varies according to the region. Certain Strychnos such as St. toxifera Benth., Str. lethalis Barb. Rod., and especially St. crevauxhiana Baill, are particularly toxic; others like St. pseudo-quina are very low in poisonous elements.

278 Besides the Strychnos, active elements of curare, of numerous other plants generally poisonous but with very diverse properties, and of animal substances such as venoms, often enter into the composition of this poison. Their addition answers different ends.

Sometimes these are resins or gums whose sole utility is to harden the product and to assure its preservation.

Sometimes they are toxic substances destined to reinforce or to complete the action of the Strychnos.

/221/ In other cases other substances without any actual effect but with magical properties are added to curare. Their nature is infinitely variable.